

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 OMB-01 DHA-02  
IO-13 /078 W

-----011015Z 019739 /21

O P 010824Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1971  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMCONSUL KARACHI  
AMCONSUL LAHORE  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5612

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PK, PINT  
SUBJECT: LAW AND ORDER PROBLEMS IN PAKISTAN

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE AGREEMENT TO NEGOTIATE BETWEEN BHUTTO  
AND THE OPPOSITION MUST BE SEEN PARTLY IN LIGHT OF THE  
CONTINUING FRAGILE LAW AND ORDER SITUATION IN PAKISTAN.  
THE TURBSLENCE IN THE COUNTRY WAS NOT ONLY A REASON BHUTTO  
WENT TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, BUT ALSO STANDS AS A  
REMINDER TO HIM OF WHAT COULD RECUR IF THE TALKS BREAK DOWN.  
NUMEROUS CITIES AND TOWNS HAVE HAD NEARLY DAILY  
PROCESSIONS SINCE THE MARCH 7 ELECTION. THE MOST RECENT  
NOTABLE ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY TOOK PLACE IN RURAL  
SIND WHERE FOLLOWERS OF PIR PAGARO TOOK OVER CONTROL OF  
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SEVERAL CITIES FOR INTERMITTENT PERIODS TO PROTEST THE  
PIR'S HOUSE ARREST. IN SPITE OF PRESS CENSORSHIP AND OUR  
SELF-IMPOSED LOWER PROFILE WHICH MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN  
INFORMATION, WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE REPORTS  
OF UNREST AND CONFRONTATIONS ELSEWHERE IN SIND AND PUNJAB  
AS WELL. ALTHOUGH PROCESSIONS OCCUR ALMOST DAILY IN THE  
FRONTIER, WE UNDERSTAND THEY ARE USUALLY PEACEFUL, AND THE

FRONTIER AND BALUCHISTAN REMAIN THE QUIETEST PROVINCES.

1. STRICT PRESS CENSORSHIP AND IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN THREE OF PAKISTAN'S MAJOR CITIES MAY GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE LAW AND ORDER SITUATION IS GENERALLY UNDER CONTROL. HOWEVER, SUCH A CONCLUSION IS MISLEADING; THE PRIME MINISTER STILL FACES A HIGHLY VOLATILE AND POLITICALLY DANGEROUS SECURITY SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY. OUR SELF IMPOSED LOW PROFILE SINCE THE PRIME MINISTER'S ANTI-AMERICAN SPEECH PLUS THE PAUCITY OF HARD NEWS IN THE NEWSPAPERS MEAN WE HEAR ABOUT FEWER CLASHES AND CONFRONTATIONS THAN WE DID FORMERLY. ALL AVAILABLE EVIDENCE INDICATES, HOWEVER, THAT THE AGITATION CONTINUES AND POSES A MAJOR THREAT TO BHUTTO'S RULE

2M THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE OPPOSITION TO NEGOTIATE MUST BE PARTLY SEEN IN THIS LIGHT. BHUTTO REALIZED THAT THE COUNTRY WAS NOT RETURNING TO NORMAL AND THAT PNA AGITATION WAS NOT DECREASING. THE PRESSURES ON HIM TO BEGIN TALKS WERE THEREFORE MAGNIFIED. NOT ONLY IS THE TURBULENCE IN THE COUNTRY A MAJOR REASON WHY BHUTTO REPORTEDLY MADE CONCESSIONS TO BRING THE OPPOSITION TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, BUT ALSO STANDS AS A STARK REMINDER TO THE PM WHAT CAN HAPPEN, WITH PERHAPS EVEN HEIGHTENED INTENSITY, IF THE TALKS FAIL.

3. THE OPPOSITION HAS INDICATED THAT IT HAS TOLD ITS SUPPORTERS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT AGITATION WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED. THERE NOW EXISTS, THEREFORE, CONFIDENTIAL

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AN UNREAL AND POTENTIALLY MISLEADING CALM IN THE COUNTRY. IT IS NOT COMPLETE, HOWEVER, SINCE POCKETS OF AGITATION DO CONTINUE. LAST FRIDAY, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WERE

DEMONSTRATIONS IN KARACHI RESULTING IN 73 ARRESTS. SUCH ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES SHOW THAT THE PNA IS NOT ABLE COMPLETELY TO CONTROL THE ANTI-BHUTTO SENTIMENTS IN THE COUNTRY AND ARE ALSO USEFUL TO THE OPPOSITION AS PROOF TO THE PRIME MINISTER THAT ANTIPATHY TOWARD HIM RUNS DEEP AND IS, IN SOME PLACES, EVEN OUT OF THE PNA'S CONTROL.

4. A REVIEW OF THE TENUOUS LAW AND ORDER SITUATION- WHICH WE HAVE CULLED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES-WHICH EXISTED PRIOR TO THE BHUTTO/PNA AGREEMENT TO TALK SHOWS THE KIND OF PRESSURES THE PM FACED AND WILL FACE ONCE AGAIN IF THE TALKS DO NOT SUCCEED. SINCE THE MARCH 7 ELECTIONS NUMEROUS CITIES AND TOWNS HAVE WITNESSED NEARLY DAILY DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND REPORTEDLY IN SEVERAL RURAL AND URBAN AREAS OF SIND AND HUNJAB GOVERN-

MENT CONTROL WAS AT TIMES VIRTUALLY NON-EXISTENT.  
THREE OF THE MAJOR CITIES OF PAKISTAN REMAIN UNDER  
MARTIAL LAW WITH OTHER CITIES EXPERIENCING VARIOUS  
PERIODS OF CURFEW, BUT EVEN THIS DID NOT COMPLETELY THWART  
OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES. PNA WORKERS  
IN NUMEROUS  
CITIES  
AND TOWNS IN HUNJAB AND SIND DAILY COURTED ARREST BY TAKING  
OUT PROCESSIONS, DISTRIBUTING ANTI-GOP HANDBILLS AND  
STAGING HIT AND RUN RAIDS AGAINST GOVERNMENT INSTALLATIONS  
AND VEHICLES AND THE HOMES AND PROPERTY OF PPP SUPPORTERS.  
THERE ARE REPORTS OF BOMBINGS OF HOMES OF PPP FUNCTIONARIES,  
INTIMIDATION OF PPP WORKERS, AND PPP OFFICIALS BEING FORCED  
TO MOVE FROM THEIR HOMES IN SOME AREAS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5612

5. ALTHOUGH THE MOST VISIBLE OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES HAVE  
TAKEN PLACE IN THE CITIES AND THE GOP HAS HAD SOME SUCCESS  
IN RESTORING ORDER, DISQUIETING REPORTS CONTINUE TO FILTER  
IN THAT IN SOME PLACES IN RURAL PUNJAB AND SIND THE  
OPPOSITION HAS, AT VARIOUS TIMES, BEEN IN VIRTUAL CONTROL

WITH LITTLE OR NO EFFORT MADE BY THE GOP TO RESTORE ITS AUTHORITY. ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS RECENT LAW AND ORDER PROBLEMS OCCURRED IN SIND WHERE THE FOLLOWERS OF ACTING PNA PRESIDENT PIR PAGARO BEGAN ACTIVELY TO OPPOSE THE GOVERNMENT. HIS FOLLOWERS-CALLED HURS-REPORTEDLY NUMBER BETWEEN 300 THOUSAND AND ONE MILLION, AND ARE AGGRESSIVE, MILITANT AND FANATICAL SUPPORTERS OF THE PIR WHOM THEY BELIEVE IS A SAINT (IN SPITE OF HIS SECULAR PERSONAL PEDILECTIONS INCLUDING HORSE-RACING AND WHISKEY).  
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WHEN PIR SAHIB WAS PUT UNDER HOUSE ARREST IN ISLAMABAD TWO WEEKS AGO, THE HURS MADE THEIR DISSATISFACTION KNOWN.

6. CONGEN KARACHI REPORTED THERE WERE MAJOR GUN FIGHTS IN SANGHER-HEADQUARTERS FOR THE PIR-SUKKUR, HYDERABAD, MIRPUR KHAS AND NAWABSHAH, GENERALLY BETWEEN THE HURS AND PPP SUPPORTERS. THE ARMY AS WELL AS THE POLICE WERE INVOLVED IN TRYING TO SUPPRESS THE INCIDENTS IN HYDERABAD, MIRPUR KHAS AND SANGHAR. SUKKUR, THE SECOND LARGEST CITY IN INTERIOR SIND, WAS COMMERCIALY DEAD FOR SEVERAL DAYS BECAUSE OF THE VIOLENCE. THE RESIDENT REUTERS CORRESPONDENT TOLD AN EMBOFF THAT OVER 50 WERE WOUNDED AND NUMEROUS PEOPLE KILLED IN THE FIGHTING IN SUKKUR.

7. CONGEN KARACHI ALSO REPORTED THAT ALTHOUGH THE CITY WAS RELATIVELY SUBDUED LAST WEEK, ALMOST DAILY PROCESSIONS ARE STILL HELD. AS RECENTLY AS A WEEK AGO, THE POLICE AND THE ARMY WERE BEING HARRASSED BY HIT AND RUN GROUPS IN CERTAIN AREAS OF THE CITY. BEFORE BHUTTO/PNA NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN, PNA SUPPORTERS HAD STANDING INSTRUCTIONS TO ORGANIZE PROCESSIONS FROM MOSQUES EVERY FRIDAY AND IN SELECTED NEIGHBORHOODS EVERY SUNDAY. ANOTHER SIGN OF CONTINUING UNREST IS THE CONSTANT STREAM OF ARRESTS OF PNA ACTIVISTS EVEN DOWN TO THE LOWEST LEVELS OF THE HIERARCHY. PNA SUPPORTERS ARE ARRESTED AS CURFEW VIOLATORS, VIOLATORS OF SECTION 144 AND "MISCREANTS." THE SITUATION IN SIND SUGGESTS THERE IS A PERSISTENT BASE OF QUIT DETERMINATION UNDERLYING CONTINUED RESISTENCE TO THE BHUTTO REGIME IN KARACHI AND OTHER CITIES AND TOWNS IN THE PROVINCE.

8. CONGEN LAHORE REPORTS THAT ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS CONTINUED IN PUNJAB LAST WEEK. THE MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT TOOK PLACE IN GURANWALA ON MAY 24 WHEN POLICE LATHI CHARGED A STUDENT PROCESSION, INJURING TWELVE. THE STUDENTS WHO HAD BOYCOTTED CLASSES FOR THE SECOND STRAIGHT DAY BADLY DAMAGED TWO BUSES AND TRIED TO SET A THIRD ON  
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FIRE. STONES WERE THROWN AT A TRAIN AND SIXTEEN WERE REPORTED ARRESTED IN THE CITY. IN SARGODHA IN NORTHERN PUNJAB, THE RIGHTIST PUNJAB STUDENTS' COUNCIL CLASED WITH POLICE ON MAY 24 WHILE HOLDING A MEETING TO COUNTER A PRO-PPP STUDENTS' CONVENTION BEING HELD THE SAME DAY. SUTDENTS THREW STONES AT POLICE WHO COUNTERED WITH TEAR GAS. THE STUDENTS REPOTEDLY CALLED ON SHOPKEEPERS TO OBSERVE A GENERAL STRIKE IN PROTEST AND COMMERCIAL AREAS CLOSED DOWN IN THE AFTERNOON. ONE HUNDRED FIFTY PERSONS WERE ARRESTED.

9. CONSULATE PESHAWAR REPORTS THAT THERE HAVE BEEN SCATTERED PRO-PNA PROCESSIONS AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE CITY AND OUTLYING AREAS BUT THE TRIBAL AREAS HAVE REMAINED QUIET. THE FRONTIER AND BALUCHISTAN CONTINUE TO REMAIN THE CALMEST OF THE FOUR PROMINCES.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009